

SCOTLAND'S STORY



34

**Culloden: battle
Charles didn't
need to fight**

**Defeat: then the
slaughter began**

**Vengeful Duke's
reign of terror in
the Highlands**

**Ugly side to a
bonnie prince**

**Stirling: at the
crossroads of
Scotland's story**



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1746

January 17: Jacobite forces defeat the Hanoverians at the Battle of Falkirk.



1746

April 16: Cumberland's government force defeats the Jacobites at Culloden.



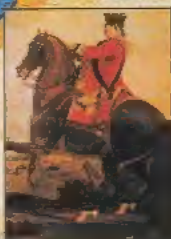
1746

April 27: Government hunts for Charles as he hides on Benbecula.



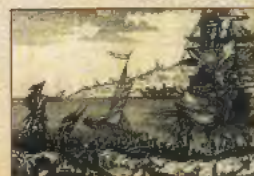
1746

July: Cumberland leaves Scotland after leading government slaughter campaign in the Highlands.



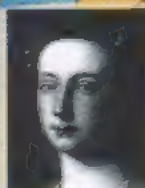
1746

September 20: Prince Charles flees Scotland.



1753

Charles' mistress, Clementina Walkinshaw, gives birth to their daughter, Charlotte.



1747

Lyon in Mourning, an account of the '45, is published.



1766

Charles recognised by Pope as 'Prince of Wales', on death of James 'VIII'.



1807

Cardinal Henry, last of the Stuart 'kings', dies.



**In Part 35:
The coming of
modernisation**



CONTENTS

4 The turning point

The decision to withdraw from Derby on December 6 was really the decisive moment in the Jacobite campaign of 1745-46, not Culloden. By Professor Jeremy Black, University of Exeter.

7 Culloden

This is a name etched on the Scottish psyche, often arousing confusing and conflicting emotions about which side was right or wrong. The battle itself, however, was a brutal and bloody affair. By Ian Nimmo.

11 Drumossie Moor today

Culloden today provides a rich and rewarding experience for the visitor, where battlecries and the smell of musket fire can be readily imagined. By David R. Ross.

12 Weapons and tactics

Broadswords and targes proved little defence against muskets, bayonets and heavy artillery as Culloden quickly became a killing field. By Jeremy Black.

14 The Duke of Cumberland

To some he is 'Stinking Willie', to others 'Sweet William'. But emotional labels ignore the seriousness of his role in spearheading a campaign of organised slaughter in the Highlands in 1746-47.

16 The Prince in the heather

With the Jacobite army broken and the clans being harried, the Prince had to make good his escape to France. By Ross MacKenzie, the Culloden Centre.

20 Charles in perspective

Prince Charles is a character about whom much has been written. By Professor Murray Pittock, Head of the Glasgow-Strathclyde School of Scottish Studies.

24 The last martyr

Archibald Cameron was hanged in 1753 after being betrayed by a government spy. By Dr Bob Harris, Senior Lecturer in History, Dundee University.

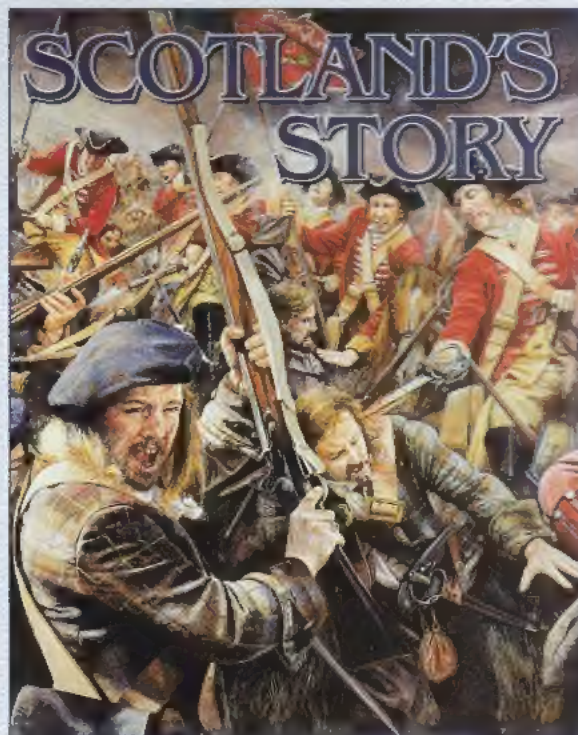
Features

26 Stirling: A town at the heart of Scotland's history and the museum that tells its tale.

28 Ghost stories: The demented shopkeeper who still haunts Edinburgh's New Town.

30 Going Places: Biker historian David Ross follows in the footsteps of the fugitive prince.

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COVER:
The Highland Charge could have a devastating effect on the enemy – as illustrated in this painting by Christopher Collingwood.

'All the rest is brown bread'

So remarked Charles Edward Stuart upon his life, after failing to fulfil his destiny and win back his family's British thrones. How Charles has subsequently been viewed by others, it seems, has often depended on whether the observer thinks he ought to have stuck to brown bread in the first place.

Perhaps the most telling aspect of Prince Charles' Jacobite challenge to Hanoverian rule, is the fact that the latter had to contend with such a sustained and highly formidable challenge to its existence almost 60 years after the Stuarts were deposed.

This made the ultimate defeat of Jacobitism at Culloden all the more resonant.

Culloden was fought on Drumossie Moor, near Inverness, on April 16, 1746. It is generally seen as a decisive moment in history, when the Jacobite threat to Hanoverian rule was finally crushed.

But from another perspective, the Jacobite decision to withdraw at Derby on December 6 may have been more significant.

Other historians, meanwhile, point out that there were those around the Jacobite court in exile who continued with plans to stage

a new campaign in the 1750s.

Such plans were not as far fetched as they sound, as the horrifying atrocities perpetrated by the government in the months after Culloden meant there were more than a few in the Highlands who hankered after revenge.

As part of the British government policy to bring Scotland into line after Culloden, the Duke of Argyll was given the power to distribute almost £500,000 sterling to the 146 nobles and gentry whose local powers were curtailed in 1747.

These landowners had been loyal to the government during the '45 (Jacobite families had their estates confiscated) and the abolition of their heritable jurisdictions was a soft pill, made easier to swallow by the scale of the government payout – the largest injection of political capital into Scotland since the Union – and from which Argyll alone benefited to the tune of £25,000.

Thus while leading Jacobites were executed and their people decisively crushed, loyalists were given lavish financial rewards.

Such measures ultimately helped persuade the Scottish elite to resign themselves unequivocally to the idea of Hanoverian Britain.



■ The devastating impact of the Highland Charge is vividly caught by artist Christopher Collingwood as it again proved irresistible at Falkirk.

Retreat to the first

It was a fighting withdrawal from Derby, but the odds were stacking against the Prince. He decided on a showdown with Cumberland. The place he chose was Culloden!

Turning back at Derby, Charles Edward faced the difficult task of retreating safely to Scotland. If his opponents could defeat him before he reached the Border, the mopping up of the Jacobite cause could be entrusted to loyal Scots and some British soldiers.

The bulk of the army could be

returned to Flanders before the start of the campaigning season, bolstering the anti-French alliance.

The Jacobites, however, avoided defeat, thanks to a mixture of their own skills, Wade's slow movements, and government fears of a French landing in Sussex.

The Jacobites reached Preston on December 11, and next day their



and last defeat

leaders debated proposals to remain there and thus both avoid the problems of retreating to Scotland and encourage the French to invade.

The counter-arguments put forward by Lord George Murray of the vulnerability of Preston and the need to restore the army's strength in Scotland won the day.

On December 13, pursuing

troops engaged the Jacobites for the first time, and on December 18 the Jacobite rearguard repulsed their pursuers at Clifton. This enabled Charles Edward to ford the Esk on the 20th. He left a garrison in Carlisle Castle, but Cumberland's artillery battered them into surrender on the 30th.

The prisoners were treated

harshly. They were unable to obtain any terms other than the promise that they should not be put to the sword, but he reserved for the royal pleasure. Only those who had been captured at Prestonpans and had then opted to join the Jacobites were hanged at once.

The following autumn, 31 prisoners brought from Scotland, and from the

English prisons to which those who had surrendered at Carlisle had been moved, were hanged for treason at Carlisle, Bampton and Penrith.

Cumberland was a hard man, accustomed to employ savage discipline, and in his response to the Jacobites – four of whom he had hanged outside the castle during the siege – he revealed both the fear and hatred that they had aroused in the Hanoverian regime and his own preference for uncompromising action.

Meanwhile, Charles Edward had entered Glasgow on December 26 and moved on to capture Stirling and besiege its castle. Hanoverian forces, led by Lieutenant-General Henry Hawley, advanced and the two armies clashed at Falkirk on January 17, 1746.

This was to be the last Jacobite victory. Charles Edward was short of money and the dynamic of success had been lost. The inexorable nature of the deployment of resources by the British state, once its cohesion was not challenged by losing the initiative, was rapidly apparent.

Charles Edward's failure to exploit Falkirk was an opportunity lost. He was urged on January 18 to re-occupy Edinburgh, and the situation was certainly propitious.

Hawley's army had suffered considerable losses and its morale was poor. Under the pressure of stress-related ill-health, however, Charles Edward found it preferable to stay at Bannockburn House with his lover, Clementina Walkinshaw, rather than deal with recriminations among the Jacobite leaders.

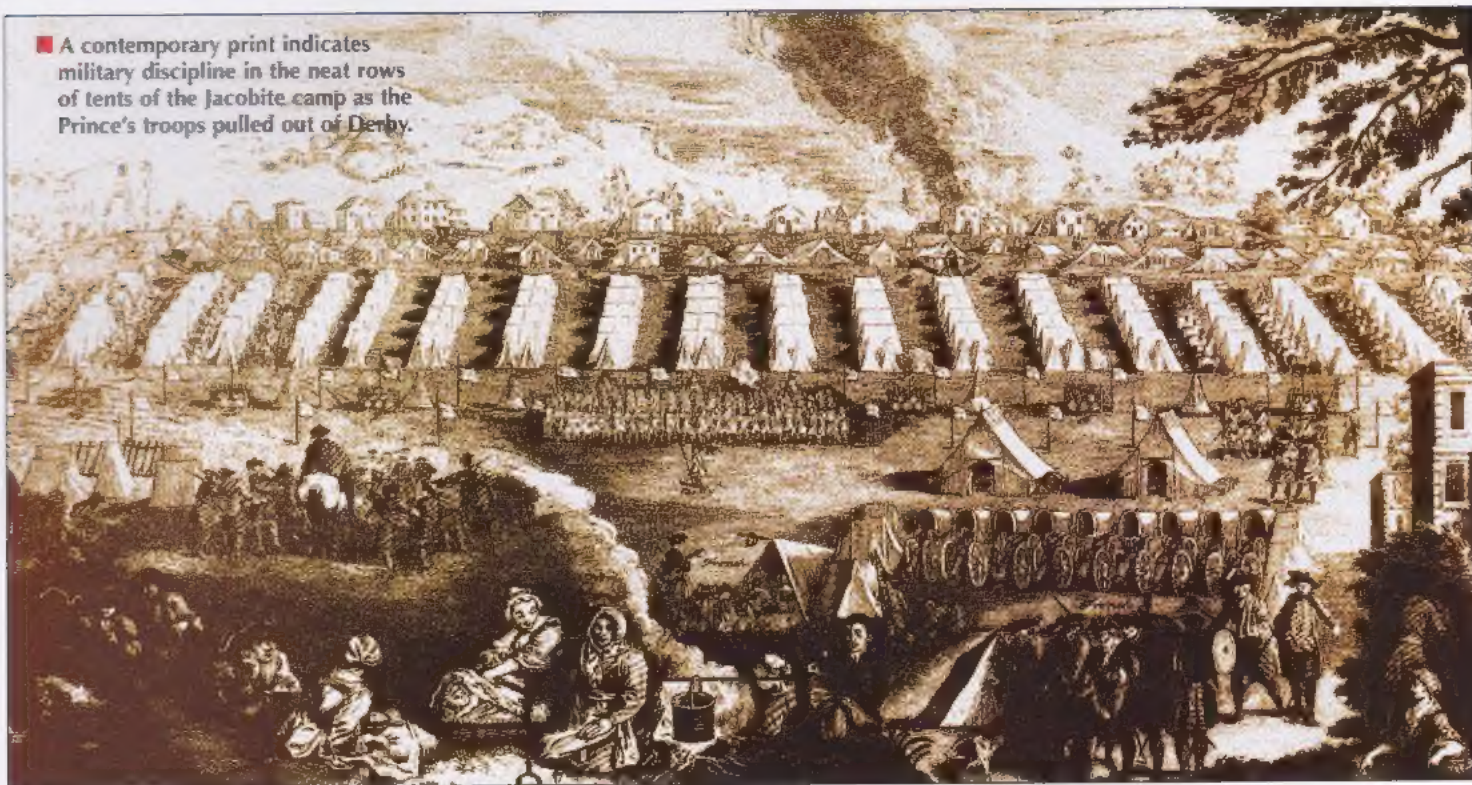
He was unable to mount a successful siege of Stirling Castle or to maintain his army's morale. At Stirling, the Jacobites were hindered by the strength of the defence, the incompetence of their own siege engineers, and their lack of sufficient artillery. The Prince paid only one visit to the trenches, a foolish oversight that was to cost him dear.

In the face of Cumberland's advancing larger force, and affected by poor morale, the Jacobites began a retreat on February 1 to the Highlands – which was to lead to their capturing Inverness from the Earl of Loudoun.

This retreat reflected pressure from Murray and clan chiefs, and was against Charles Edward's wishes.

Loudoun had tried to prevent the Jacobite capture of Inverness. He attempted to surprise Charles Edward at Moy Hall, but this led to the 'Rout of Moy', when the advancing column of 1,500 men was ►

■ A contemporary print indicates military discipline in the neat rows of tents of the Jacobite camp as the Prince's troops pulled out of Derby.



► intimidated in the dark by the shouts of five Jacobites into thinking that they were facing the entire army. They retreated in panic and confusion.

Loudoun's force was then affected by serious desertion, and on February 17 a Council of War decided that it would be impossible to defend Inverness. As the Jacobites advanced on the town that day, Loudoun retreated into Sutherland.

He left some men in the castle, but it surrendered and Loudoun was criticized for deciding to leave a force there, but failing to leave an adequate one.

The fall of Inverness shook Cumberland's confidence. Far from taking part in a clearing-up operation, it was now clear that the Jacobites were still a formidable military force who would not collapse on their own.

Cumberland advanced to Perth and then Aberdeen, building up a large army there which could be supplied by sea.

The North East appeared to be the logistical key to the Highlands, for the occupation of the ports of Montrose, Stonehaven and Aberdeen would also make it harder for the French to send reinforcements and supplies to the Jacobites.

While at Aberdeen, the troops were trained to deal with hand-to-hand combat with men wielding broadswords.

The Duke remained at Aberdeen until April 8, by which time the Spey

was low enough to be fordable.

Meanwhile, the Jacobites had captured Fort Augustus (March 5), pushed back Loudoun's men from the Dornoch Firth (March 20) and successfully raided Keith (March 20). But they failed in their sieges of Fort William (March 7 to April 3) and Blair Castle.

These operations are easy to overlook if Culloden is presented as an inevitable development or if attention is concentrated on Cumberland's soon-to-be victorious army. But they are of considerable

importance and harry anti-Jacobite clans, while forcing Cumberland both to disperse his troops in defensive operations and to respond to their initiatives.

The Jacobites, however, were in severe difficulties.

Shortage of funds forced them to pay their soldiers in kind and encouraged desertion.

The sickly Charles Edward contributed nothing either to strategic planning or to the financial situation beyond reiterated statements that the French would

opposite bank retreated without fighting.

Charles Edward chose to regain the advantage on the night of April 15-16 by launching a dawn attack on Cumberland's camp near Nairn, hoping through surprise both to offset the disadvantage in numbers and to employ the hand-to-hand combat that would nullify the Duke's superior fire-power.

The move was unsuccessful, and the Jacobites fell back on Culloden.

Its failure did not make defeat in a major battle inevitable, but the Prince's stubborn insistence on fighting near Culloden – despite being warned of the disadvantages of the site – can in part be attributed to the exhaustion and wilfulness that he experienced after a retreat that he had sought without success to prevent.

When, on the morning of the 16th, the Jacobites returned to the moor, Murray suggested three alternatives to Charles Edward – retiring to Inverness, dispersing into the hills to reform, and fighting south of the River Nairn.

The Prince rejected the ideas, arguing that Cumberland would be at an advantage at Inverness; that, short of food, the clansmen could not afford to retreat to the Highlands; and that to fight south of the River Nairn would expose Inverness.

The Jacobites were still on the moor when Cumberland's force advanced onto it. ●

Cumberland's troops were trained to foil close-quarter sword fighting

importance, not least if it is appreciated that Charles Edward no more had to fight the Duke at Culloden than he had earlier had to fight him in order to cover the siege of Stirling.

Lord George Murray was convinced that the Jacobites could remain undefeated for several years, and eventually force the Hanoverians to terms.

He sought to prevent Cumberland from using Aberdeen as a base to overrun the North-East and, instead, urged offensive operations that would gain ports through which French supplies could be received.

This in turn would encourage French action, raise morale among the Jacobites, discourage their

send assistance. Instead, the French focused on advancing into the Austrian Netherlands. They were to begin the siege of Antwerp on May 24 and the garrison was to surrender a week later.

Cumberland proposed to advance to Inverness, after which he had no fixed plans, intending to act in accordance with 'what rebels may do, on our moving forward'.

Charles Edward had initially intended to advance on Cumberland, but the general malaise in which lack of funds played a major role made this impossible.

Instead, it was to be Cumberland who took the initiative, crossing the Spey on the 12th.

The 2,000 Jacobites on the

A BITTER MORNING OF SLAUGHTER



■ At last with a roar the Highland charge was launched, but it stuttered from the outset and never recovered.

The battle was over in the time it takes to play the first half of a football match. Then the butchery began...

Durnessie Moor is the windswept, boggy flatland above and to the east of Inverness. But the battle that took place there on the morning of April 16, 1746 – which brought Prince Charles Edward Stuart's high adventure to a disastrous conclusion – is graven into Highland history as Culloden.

It was not the location the Prince's

military strategist, Lieutenant-General Lord George Murray, would have chosen for a setpiece confrontation against professional, superior numbers with the British crown at stake.

In his view, the sensible tactic for the Highland host was to avoid battle. Simply melt into the hills to continue with a guerrilla war on their own terms, in familiar country and among their own supporters. The ►

The battlefield was entirely unsuitable for the Highlanders most feared tactic - the wild, do-or-die, headlong charge

► decisive battle could be at another time and at a more advantageous location. But by this stage the Prince had stopped listening to Murray. He had taken the conduct of the campaign firmly into his own hands.

His military council therefore remained uncalled and the soothing, but flawed advice from Irishman John William O'Sullivan, seconded as an advisor from the French army, had become increasingly influential in the Prince's ear.

In any event, Charles still retained

the unshakable conviction that God was on his side. He remained undefeated, he disapproved of the Derby withdrawal, he intensely disliked his young cousin, the portly Duke of Cumberland, who led the government army, and he was determined to have his way.

For some or all of these reasons the Prince's 6,000 troops were drawn up in battle order in two lines at Culloden ready for the showdown. They made a daunting sight. Tartans flared, studded targes

and broadswords glinted, and the bonnet of each soldier sported the White Cockade - the Jacobite badge chosen when the Prince picked a white rose at Fassfern on Loch Eil side at the outset of their great adventure.

Also tartan-clad and mounted on a grey gelding, the Prince moved among his men, light broadsword in hand, giving encouragement.

In the front rank on the far right were the men of Atholl. The Camerons came next in line, then the Stewarts of Appin, MacLarens

■ Captured clansmen are believed to have posed for artist David Morier in 1746 to give authenticity to this detail from his painting of Culloden.



and Lovat's Frasers, all under the command of Lord George.

In the centre, led by Lord John Drummond, was Clan Chattan MacIntoshes, the Strathspey and Badenoch contingents, Farquharsons, MacLaughlans, MacLeans, John Roy Stewart's Edinburgh volunteers and the Chisolms.

Unusually, the MacDonalds were on the left flank – Clanranald, Keppoch, Glencoe and Glengarry on the extreme wing. They were under

the leadership of the Duke of Perth, along with clansmen from Glenurquhart and Glenmoriston.

About 100 yards to the rear was the second but much shorter Jacobite line – Ogilvy's Angus regiment on the right; two regiments of Gordons, including Glenbucket's; the Duke of Perth's regiment; then the elite Scots Royal – seconded by the French, and not to be confused with the Royal Scots on the Hanoverian side – and the Irish picquets, another detachment from the French army,

out on the wing. The artillery were positioned at the front and the Jacobite cavalry gathered around the Prince and the standard at the back.

But Charles could have wished his army more ready for the battle. Many were exhausted because they had just returned from an aborted night raid to try to catch Cumberland by surprise in his encampment near Nairn.

Dawn had broken before their arrival and they were forced to withdraw without contact but amid commander acrimony.

The men were without food for the rations supply failed, and it is said there were rumblings among the MacDonalds at being positioned on the unaccustomed left flank.

Traditionally, MacDonalds were on the right – an honour bestowed by King Robert Bruce himself. However, there are accounts that explain the change as merely rotational. It was the Camerons' turn and they gave the right wing to the Atholl men out of respect for Lord George Murray.

Murray himself was unhappy with the battleground. The rough, marshy terrain was entirely unsuited to the Jacobite's most fearsome tactic – the headlong, passionate, blood-curdling, do-or-die Highland charge.

Drumossie Moor also offered too much scope for Cumberland's superior cavalry and artillery and the General was mindful that some of his best troops, like the Badenoch MacPhersons, the Knoydart MacDonnells and members of clan Gregor, were engaged elsewhere on other missions.

A marrow-chilling wind with intermittent sleet and hail showers gusted into the faces of the Highlanders as Cumberland's army marched into sight around 11 am. It had been the Duke's 25th birthday the previous day and his men celebrated with his brandy. They numbered around 9,000 as they approached in three red-coated columns.

Cumberland had tracked the Prince the length of Britain, shadowed up the east coast by supply ships. The sloop *Shark* was now anchored in the Moray Firth.

Within 10 minutes, completing a well-rehearsed manoeuvre, Cumberland's force was in battle formation.

There were 15 infantry regiments, 800 dragoons, supported by 10 three-pounder guns and six coehorn mortars. They were deployed with six regiments in the front line, cavalry on the flanks, a second row

of infantry and three regiments in reserve at the rear.

The Duke's force included three Scottish-raised regiments that have since won fame and honours in the British army – St Clair's or the Royals, which later became the Royal Scots; Campbell's regiment, forerunner of the Royal Scots Fusiliers – now the Royal Highland Fusiliers; and Sempill's became the King's Own Scottish Borderers.

The well-nourished figure of Cumberland went among his troops, like Charles on the Jacobite side, steadying nerves.

With a bang and puff of smoke the Battle of Culloden commenced as Brevet Major William Belford, the Duke's artillery officer, cool, experienced and professional, fired the first round shot.

It hammered into the Jacobite ranks with devastating effect and accuracy. More and more followed.

Restlessly, the Highlanders waited for the cry 'Claymore' to release the charge. But Charles was not best placed to read the battle and waited for the government troops to attack before giving the command.

Cumberland, seeing the carnage his artillery was creating, just waited – and allowed Belford and his guns their full play.

Watching the execution around him in dismay, Murray called for the order to charge. The word was given but the messenger, young Lachlan MacLachlan, was killed by a shot and the murderous bombardment was able to continue for further vital minutes. It is possible the MacDonalds never even received the order.

At last with a roar the Prince's clansmen began their run. But it was unco-ordinated with Clan Chattan MacIntoshes breaking out first, followed by Murray and his Atholl men.

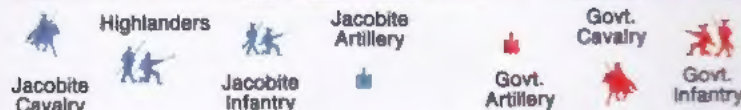
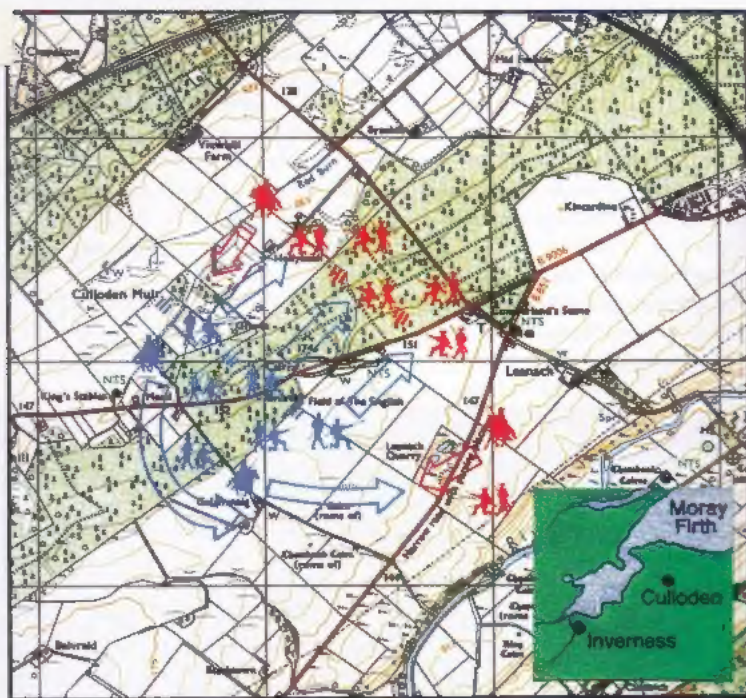
The success of the Highland charge depended on its impetus executed in an even line to prevent enemy infantry fire from the flanks. From the first stride the Highland line was in disarray.

The Atholl charge was edged to the left by a stone wall, while withering fire drove Clan Chattan to the right. Both struck Munro's and Barrel's regiments together in a tremendous fury of flashing blades, shots and screams.

Barrel's were forced back, but the Hanoverian second line of Sempill's regiment held firm, and from the sides the unengaged troops of Wolfe and Campbell's Militia were able to fire volley after volley into the



■ The shape of battle showing troop deployment.



► thinning Highland ranks. The stuttering, uneven Highland charge never recovered. Belford changed his artillery deliveries to grape-shot with terrible effect. The Prince's centre ranks were unable to grip with the enemy under the hail of fire.

In the confusion on the left the MacDonalds began late with their right flank unprotected. Under

harrowing fire they made short rushes against St Clair's and Pultney's regiments, taking dreadful casualties, but they, too, were being driven back.

Murray had hacked his way through Cumberland's defences. In desperation he fought his way back to bring in the Highland second line, but with half a glance he could see it



■ The colours of the Hanoverian Barrell's regiment carried at Culloden.

was too late. The White Cockades were leaving the field – and the Prince with them. The battle was lost and won in about the same time as the first-half of a football match. But the slaughter was not over.

Cumberland's dragoons now went into action. No quarter was given.

Those retreating Highlanders who left a bloody trail as they made for Inverness, were cut down. The wounded, the dying, even some innocent civilians were ruthlessly slashed or skewered by General Henry Hawley's cavalry.

Those Highlanders who headed for the hills fared better and the Prince's own cavalry fought a brave rearguard action. Individual acts of Highland heroism have become legend as the clans scattered to their homelands. The casualties tell their own story – Cumberland lost approximately 50 dead and 300 wounded. Figures for the Prince's army are less easily estimated.

More than 1,000 died on Drumossie Moor and taking in the after-battle slaughter the total figure could have approached 2,000. Few prisoners were taken.

In the last full-blown battle on



British soil it is the courage of the vanquished Highlanders, the end of the Stewart dream and the atrocities of the Hanoverian troops in the aftermath of battle that are now remembered.

Even the following day wounded and dying Jacobites were being hunted down and put to the sword.

In one incident, 30 wounded Jacobite officers and men were found in a barn on Old Leanach farm. It was barricaded and torched.

Much of the barbarity has been laid at the door of the Duke of Cumberland, who became the toast of London. Some of the demonising may well have been unfair, but by any measure it was less than the justice meted out to captured Jacobites. 'Butcher' Cumberland and 'Hangman' Hawley are the mildest of the epithets ascribed to the 'villains' of Culloden.

In England that multi-headed, colourful flower Sweet William was named after 'hero' Cumberland. But the Jacobites, in turn, gave him yet another name, spitting it out with disgust. 'Stinking Willie' they called him – after a weed. ●

SUPPORT FROM THE SWEDES

The invasion force was recruited, but the ship stuck in the ice, and the moment was lost

In October 1745, King Frederick of Sweden, believing Prince Charles had a good chance of success, permitted the recruitment of a Swedish Jacobite invasion force.

While he publicly dismissed the Prince's cause, minutes of meetings of his foreign ministry paint a different picture. There,

he remarked 'that it did not seem advisable to call the Pretender and his followers rebels, as nobody could foresee whether his plots would succeed'.

Frederick's ministry thus became complicit in a plan to enlist 180 Swedish officers into the Franco-Swedish regiment, the Royal Swedish, to fight in the Prince's army in Scotland.

Initially, each officer was to be accompanied by four private soldiers, creating a total force of about 1,000 men.

Despite intense diplomatic pressure from a well-informed Hanoverian regime in London, 180 officers and an equal

number of privates were eventually recruited.

Banners bearing the St Andrews Cross, with yellow lillies in each corner, were made in Stockholm.

The vessel to carry the recruits, the *Fredericus*, was supplied by the Swedish East-India Company. One of the Company's two managing directors was Colin Campbell, a Scot.

Campbell, who was careful to hide his support for the '45 in case it failed, was descended on his mother's side from Stewart of Appin.

He was thus related to another Campbell of the '45, Robert, who – along with 12

other Jacobite officers – was given refuge in Gothenburg after fighting on the Prince's side at Culloden.

Colin was also paternally linked to the Hanoverian Campbells of Argyll.

In the event, the plan was called-off early in 1746.

The *Fredericus* was frozen into Gothenburg harbour, French co-ordination of continental Jacobite support was a disaster and the Prince was retreating.

Had the Franco-Swedish alliance acted sooner in 1745, however, the outcome of the Rising could have been very different.

Pervading sense of
pride and sadness



■ A powdering of snow on Culloden field as it was on the morning of the battle. This was the view from the Jacobite lines.

Slowly the battlefield site is being restored to give visitors an authentic experience of the scene exactly as it was when the two armies clashed

Culloden battlefield seems to hold a tangible reminder of the carnage that took place in 1746.

Many visitors say they can sense a sadness, an air of melancholy about the site.

It has changed since 1746. Woodland had encroached over the scene of the original action, but over the last 20 years work has been undertaken to return the battlefield to its original appearance just as it looked to the Jacobites and Hanoverians who fought on that day.

Culloden Moor, or muir, is part of an extensive tract of relatively low lying flatland between the higher hills to the south and the Moray Firth to the north. This flatland is known as Drummoisie Muir.

The battlefield today is under the supervision of the National Trust for Scotland, and there is a modern visitor centre with a cafe, shop, a collection of artefacts used at Culloden, and an audio-visual

experience that explains the causes as well as the manoeuvres employed at the battle

Culloden is often described as 'the last battle fought on British soil', and due to its relative proximity to our own time, the battlefield has many pertinent sites that can be visited. As we have an intimate knowledge of the events that took place step by step, we are able to trace these events on the ground today.

The Hanoverian forces approached from Nairn to the east while the Jacobite force was stationed in the area to the west. The Jacobites made an attack on the Hanoverians while they were at Nairn, but it ended in a disaster due to bad planning and a lack of provisioning for the men.

Storyboards and flagpoles today mark the original positioning of the forces arrayed against each other at the commencement of fighting. The Jacobite flag bears the white rose of

Scotland – or, as it is commonly called, The White Cockade – and the flag of the Hanoverians bears the emblem of a black rose

The dead from the battle were buried on the field itself, and in later years stones were erected to mark the various locations. Among these are stones inscribed 'Clan Stewart of Appin', 'Clan Cameron' and 'Clan Macintosh'. In the centre, a 20-foot cairn was raised in the summer of 1881 by the then proprietor of the land.

It bears upon it a slab on which is stated: 'The Battle of Culloden was fought on this moor 16th April, 1746. The graves of the gallant Highlanders who fought for Scotland and Prince Charlie are marked by the names of their clans

... here their first
... here stands a
... hed farmhouse called
... which has been restored
... memorial Wounded
Jacobites had crawled inside a barn
here for sanctuary; but were killed
when Hanoverians set it alight

A little east of the main battle site stands the Cumberland Stone. Tradition states that the Duke of

Cumberland, the Hanoverian commander, stood on this boulder to survey the ground

In 1746 a large dyke ran along the Jacobite army's right flank – to the south which, it was hoped, would offer some protection from being outflanked from that vicinity.

This stone dyke has long been a landmark, but in recent years a rebuilding project has begun to give the site even greater authenticity.

Before the battle, Prince Chai
stayed at Culoden House. The
reconstructed building is today a
museo. It is about two
miles from the site of the battle.

...le south east of the
... River Nairn stands
the Stones of Clava, one of the most
... collections of stones and
urns surviving from the days of
the Highlands' earliest inhabitants.

They might have been surprised to find that this location would eventually become the place where their whole way of life would be blasted into extinction.

Culloden battlefield stands some four miles east of Inverness, close to the B9006, which continues in the direction of Nairn.

It is well signposted, and will provide a thoughtful experience for anyone interested in the history of Scotland. ●

Bonnie fighters but



■ Claymore and battleaxe versus musket and bayonet, a scene from the documentary film on Culloden.

The Jacobite army had all the advantages nature and art could give them, said Murray. But it was not enough for victory

The battles of the 40s show the continued vitality of Jacobite military thinking, indicated their vulnerability.

At Prestonpans on September 23, 1745, Sir John Cope's army was a more balanced force than Charles's army.

The English general had six cannon and dragoons, while the Prince had no cannon and no horsemen. Cope was a professional officer, but had no experience in command against irregular forces.

His cannon and dragoons were of little use in a battle that developed much faster than he had anticipated. The nautical gunners fled and their inexperienced army replacements did little damage before they were overrun, while most of the dragoons refused to charge. Some attempted to do so, but they were met by Highlanders slashing at their mounts.

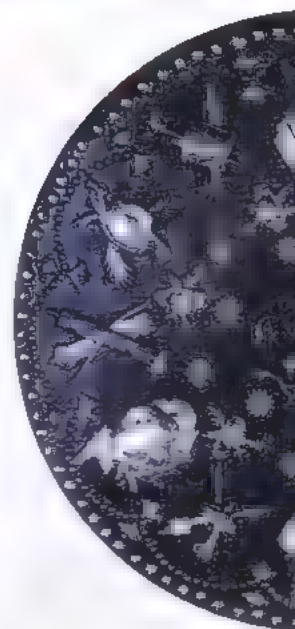
A Highland charge, the formation unbroken by the fire of Cope's

infantry, led the latter to flee in panic a few minutes after the first impact. Cope's men had little opportunity to use their equipment: the Hanoverian forces fired only one round of ammunition per man and apparently not one bayonet was stained with blood.

In contrast, Jacobite broadswords caused most of the casualties. The Jacobites lost about 25 men, Cope about 300, but Cope's army was destroyed, with at least 1,500 men taken prisoner.

Most of the casualties occurred during the retreat, for infantry formations that lost their order were particularly vulnerable to pursuing troops.

Prestonpans indicated that defensive firepower alone was insufficient to secure victory. The Council of Officers appointed to inquire into Cope's conduct blamed the defeat on 'the shameful



■ This decorated targe or shield was carried by Prince Charles Edward at Culloden. He was also armed with a light sword.

short on discipline

behaviour of the private men', an unfair verdict as the infantry had not been trained for such conflict and cavalry units were not accustomed to being attacked by infantry.

Even the veterans of Continental warfare proved unable to stand up to the Highland charge.

At Clifton on December 18, 1745, the last battle fought on English soil, a successful Highland charge led to the repulse of pursuing troops, and permitted the rearguard to disengage successfully.

The Jacobites under Murray revealed in the engagement an ability to take advantage of the terrain, and the fire-power of the Hanoverian dragoons proved unable to protect them from the claymores of the MacPhersons, who had only 150 yards to run and that covered by a dark and cloudy night. The dragoons were also unable to face hand-to-hand fighting, and they retreated after about two minutes.

At Falkirk (January, 17, 1746), a Highland charge was again decisive in giving the Jacobites victory, although a defensive volley was important in breaking the advance of the government troops. Under Lieutenant General Henry Hawley, they had been encamped between

Falkirk and Falkirk Moor, a plateau above Falkirk to the west. When to his negligent surprise, Hawley was

informed that the Jacobites were advancing across the moor and would seize the top of the ascent to it from his encampment, he ordered his troops to advance, which they did, but the difficulty of driving rain

Hawley had about 8,500 men, as he had

been reinforced by 1,500 Argyllshire militia, while the Prince had about 8,000 men, the largest force he was to command in battle during the '45.

Lord George Murray commented on "the infinite advantages" possessed

by the Jacobites "In a word, the Highland army had all the advantages that nature or art could give them."

But he was critical of their discipline: "Without a body of regular troops, the Highlanders, by themselves, have many disadvantages, by their not being disciplined, and especially their not rallying quick after an attack."

Doubtless frustrated by the failure to exploit the advantages presented by the terrain, Murray was possibly over-critical of his own men. The force that had broken most at Falkirk was the regular one. Loss of control during a rapid advance was a common problem in the warfare of the period.

Hawley's men were mostly driven from the field, the second line of foot without firing a shot, and the cavalry had failed to cope with the Highlanders. Clearly the heavy rain and growing darkness reduced the effectiveness of infantry armed with muskets, making it harder to aim accurately and wetting their powder so it would not ignite.

The terrain was also against the Hanoverian troops. A mobile opponent, such as the Jacobite army, was always likely to have the advantage of terrain and to avoid being obliged to fight on ground of its opponent's choosing.

Falkirk showed the continued vitality of Jacobite tactics. However, it was to be the last Jacobite victory.

At Culloden (April 16, 1746), the terrain suited Cumberland's defensive position. The circumstances were not suitable for a Highland charge, not least because Cumberland's superior numbers permitted defence in depth.

Any gaps in the front line could be filled. His artillery firing canister shot – and musket volleys from the infantry, so thinned the numbers of the advancing Jacobites that they were unable to rally. The Jacobite army was not a cohesive unit, and the lack of discipline was a major factor in their defeat. The Jacobite army was not a cohesive unit, and the lack of discipline was a major factor in their defeat.



■ Bayonet fighter... but Cumberland's thrust tactic remains controversial.

which was partly waterlogged, the difficulty of seeing what was happening in the smoke produced by the guns, and the independent nature of each unit's advance. The Jacobites were not alone in relying on the tactical offensive. However, Charles Edward was up against a powerful state, and Culloden was not the place nor the time to fight an important battle.

Many factors led to confusion among the Jacobites: the slant of their line, the nature of the terrain,

which was partly waterlogged, the difficulty of seeing what was happening in the smoke produced by the guns, and the independent nature of each unit's advance.

The Jacobites were not alone in relying on the tactical offensive. However, Charles Edward was up against a powerful state, and Culloden was not the place nor the time to fight an important battle.

The butcher who enjoyed his work



The Duke of Cumberland had a reputation as a disciplinarian and tough on losers. But in the wake of Culloden this control relaxed when it came to hunting Highlanders.

The grand young Duke carried out his orders to the letter, but this was no excuse for the indiscriminate killings after the battle was lost

Recent expert scholarship on the Highlands in the 18th century has clearly demonstrated that each Jacobite failure was followed by government reprisals, particularly directed against the clans.

The most severe and barbaric of these came after the '45 – it was as if the British ministry in London felt the clans assembled at Ruthven needed further convincing of the finality of their defeat at Culloden.

It is not difficult to appreciate why the British establishment acted with supreme savagery in the wake of the '45. The realisation that the Jacobites were so close to taking the 'English' capital had come as a huge shockwave. That a predominantly Highland army had the capability to advance so deep into the heartland of the British state, was portrayed 'as the monstrous progress of a barbarous people'.

William Augustus, Duke of Cumberland, articulated this view more effectively than any other. The favourite son of George III, he was only 24 years old when he led the government forces at Culloden.

Cumberland was every bit a model of Hanoverianism. He had fought with grit and determination against the French at the Battle of Dettingen in 1743. There he

sustained a severe leg-wound, which worsened at his defeat by Marshall de Saxe at Fontenoy.

He was obliged to withdraw from the Continent after the Jacobite advance in Scotland began to threaten political stability.

Appointed Captain-General (the last holder of that post), his reputation was that of a skilled and brave soldier, a strong disciplinarian but popular with his men for his attention to supply and welfare.

His conduct in pursuing the Jacobite army was for the most part effective. As he progressed through Scotland he stuck to the north-east coast. The tactical approach that permitted his naval support, so vital to the Jacobite Lord George, was acutely aware of the need to maintain a close link with the land forces.

Cumberland concentrated on training his men in the tactics of withstanding a frontal charge, but his lack of experience in difficulty keeping his army together was a major weakness.

Cumberland's campaign was assisted by crucial Jacobite mistakes. By the time the two sides met at Culloden, the Jacobites had left their army largely exhausted and their morale weakened.

Further, the weather was such that the battle he fought on 16 April at Drumossie Moor was a tactical disaster. The rain undermined the Highlanders' position and permitted Cumberland to bring his superior army to bear.

Three months after the battle, Cumberland was triumphant. Handel wrote the opera 'See the Conquering Hero' to celebrate the victory.

The remainder of his military career, however, was unremarkable. He grew extremely overweight and died at the age of 44.

Judgements of Cumberland as a Teutonic hero or villain have been used to crush for good or bad the rebellious Gaels, often obscure a more serious issue. The battle was merely putting into practice the deeply-held Scottophobia prevalent within government circles at the time.

Hatred and animosity could generate was not exclusive to the government side. Cumberland's army reached Fort Augustus, which had been held by the Jacobites, they alleged, and found nine of their comrades murdered. Still in the aftermath of the battle, the bodies had been thrown into the river.

Certainly, the government and other government officials

received violent treatment. But here a point of supreme importance needs to be clarified.

The overwhelming weight of historical evidence clearly demonstrates that Jacobite reprisals, which were random and isolated, were in comparison to the atrocities committed by the government forces in 1746-7.

A leading Highland historian has recently argued that 'wanton atrocities, unleashed brutality and devastating savagery are inadequate descriptions of the systematic policy of repression' that the government pursued.

While Culloden itself claimed 1,000 Jacobite lives, in the 16 months after the battle, a systematic policy of state genocide was responsible for the murder of a further 2,000 people. On top of that, over 2,500 were consigned to penal servitude in the colonies after show trials in England. Many died in squalid jails before reaching trial.

Cumberland reportedly gave license to the unrestrained exercise of summary justice by the Campbells and other clan forces fighting on the government side. He contemplated the wholesale transportation of entire Jacobite districts, but this was shown to be not cost effective.

Jacobite neighbourhoods around the garrisons at Inverness, Ruthven in Badenoch, Bernera in Glenelg, Fort Augustus and Fort William were cleared out by Junior Hanoverian officers, who glorified their exploits.

Settlements were burned, the inhabitants' cattle driven away and their ploughs, boats and fishing gear destroyed. Women offering succour to wounded or starving prisoners were strip-searched and raped.

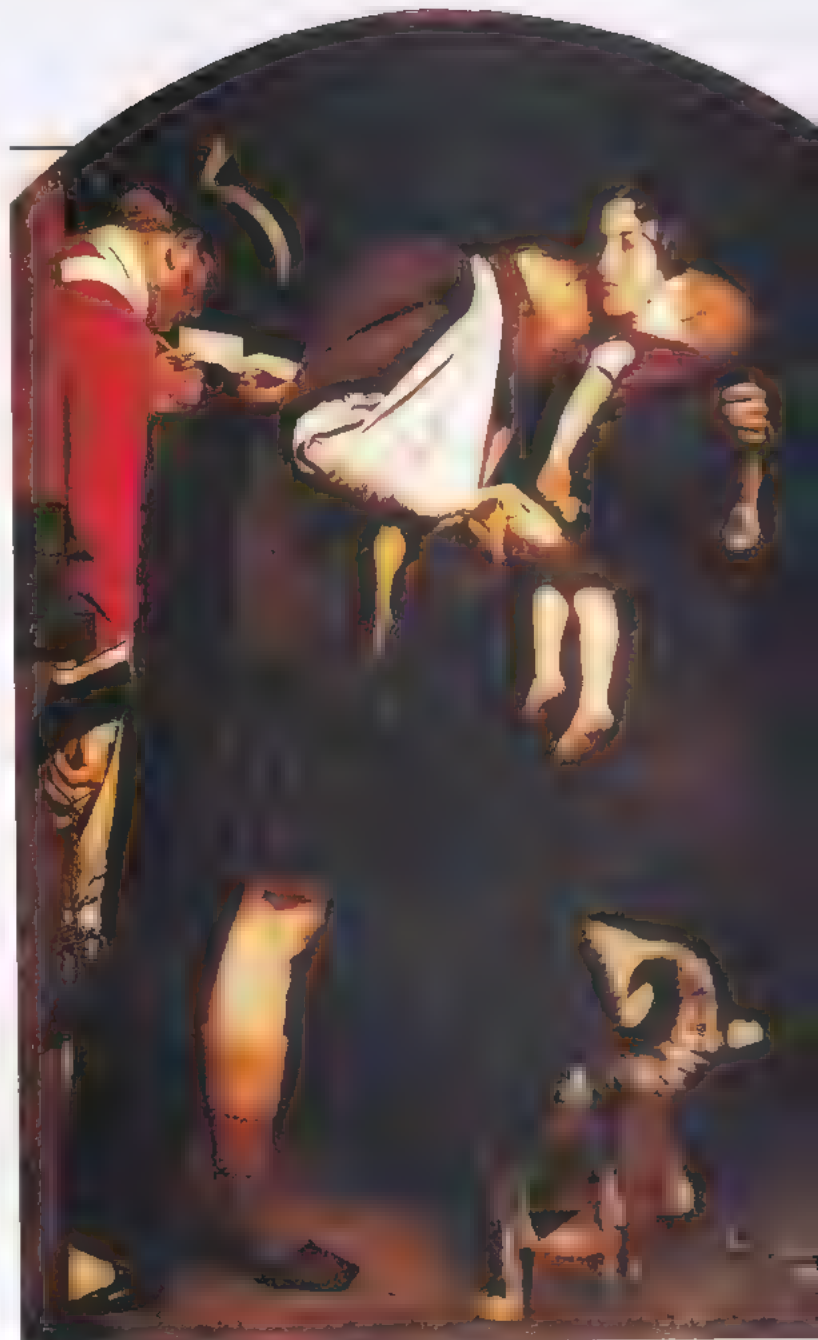
Those found carrying arms (or suspected of doing so) were immediately put to death.

Cumberland himself reportedly enjoyed punishing unarmed Gaels or denied having any part in the battle. Covert relief and offers of pardon to prominent rebels from Highland officers only partially offset the scale of the brutality.

Naval bombardments and landings on the west coast, particularly on Skye and the Ardnamurchan peninsula, were carried out by the ships 'Princess Anne' and the 'Terror'.

These ships led an attack on the estate of Argyll's estates, over which the government had nominal control. The extent to which Campbell forces were involved was later fabricated by the government to justify the attacks.

A black propaganda campaign against the Highlands, which was



■ The Order of Release: a Jacobite 'rebel' is reunited with his family in this interpretation of the scene by artist Sir John Everett Millais.

extended throughout the British Empire, was deliberately perpetrated to justify the scale of government atrocities.

The campaign included a forged letter, supposedly written by Lord George Murray, reprinted alongside a report of Cumberland's victory (two months after the event) in the Virginia Gazette of Williamsburg.

The letter contained orders to give 'no quarter' to the enemy. It had not featured in the first official reports to London a few days after Culloden, but was instead manufactured later to counter adverse publicity about the severity of government repression.

Loaded press reports and persuasive articles celebrating the virtues of loyalty meanwhile ruled

off the printing presses under a watchful official eye. Pro government clans also suffered from the extent of the reprisals in 1746-7.

The Disarming Act left them wide open to attacks from bandits. The growth of banditry amidst the post-Culloden devastation enabled the government to conclude that all Jacobite clans were tainted with it.

This view was assisted by the comparatively lenient approach of pro-government Highland troops to the exaction of reprisals, especially those led by John Campbell, 4th Earl of Loudoun.

Leniency was openly advocated by Lord President Forbes of Culloden.

For those like Cumberland, such attitudes confirmed that deep down, all Scots were little more than quasi Jacobite traitors. ●

Deadly game of hide



As the shocked Prince left the red field of Culloden a different battle confronted him – simply to survive and escape

In the Highlands of Scotland, particularly after a harsh winter, can be the most beautiful season of the year. The quickening pulse of life, with new growth everywhere, and the heady scent of gorse filling the air, combines with marvellous scenery to create a unique look and sense of place.

Nowadays that mix attracts tourists from all over the world. But not all visitors to the Highlands in the past have had the time or inclination to marvel at that unique

sense of place. One visitor, through the spring and summer of 1746, had different matters on his mind.

At Culloden, on the early afternoon of April 16, 1746, Charles Edward Stuart, uncertain what to do when it became apparent that all was lost and that the army he had considered invincible was broken, was led from the field.

It is reported that Lord Elche, on seeing him go shouted: "Run you cowardly Italian!"

But this was after O'Sullivan, the

Prince's principal advisor, had alluded to some officers surrounding Charles: "You see all is going to pot – you can be of no great succor – so before a general Jerome with [sic] will soon be seize the Prince and take him off!"

The Prince in enemy hands would signal once and for all that the Rising was over, that the cause was dead.

His own safety could not be guaranteed when a lover of the field of Culloden the atrocities that were to tarnish the reputation of his opponent Cumberland, were being committed

and seek



■ Find the Prince! The Highlands and Islands were combed by Hanoverian redcoats after Culloden in a desperate bid to prevent his escape. This painting by 19th-century artist John Lucas captures a moment of search drama.

with the Duke's open approval.

Major James Wolfe, later the victor of Quebec, was his uncle in the aftermath of Culloden:

"The Rebels besides their natural inclinations, had orders not to give quarter to our men. We had an opportunity of avenging ourselves for that and for many other things, and indeed we did not neglect it, as few Highlanders were made prisoners as possible."

It was imperative Charles be taken

to safety. It was equally important

in Flanders against Fr

... the high stakes ...

... small party were led to the ... of Fallow, and into Strathnairn, making for Fraser country. He was taken



■ The Prince disguised as Flora MacDonald's servant girl 'Betty Burke'.

west to Gorthleck, some 20 miles south of Inverness – the house of a factor of Lovat's – and it was there he met Lovat for the first, and last time.

Here the Prince made up his mind what to do. A general rendezvous, at Ruthven in Badenoch, had been fixed in the event of defeat at Culloden, and in the days following the battle the shattered remnants of the Jacobite army started to arrive, waiting for the Prince.

But after discussion at Gorthleck, in which the possibility of continuing the campaign by waging guerrilla warfare from the mountains was considered, Charles decided to make for France. He wrote to Lord George Murray in Perth at Ruthven, asking that

... the 4,000 ... for the supposed ... were already in ruins, with ... driven ... victorious army sought revenge for the '45.

The Prince stayed only a few hours at Gorthleck, before moving on, heading for the coast, where he

hoped to find a ship for France. It was to take him to September 20 to find such a ship, and during the months in the heather he came close to capture on several occasions.

Charles stayed at Borrodale, on the shore of Loch nan Uamh, where he had landed the previous year. There was no news of any French ship in the area, and he thought of writing to MacLeod of MacLeod and Macdonald of Sleat seeking their assistance.

He was persuaded against this by the proposed messenger, the 66-year-old Donald MacLeod, who instead suggested the sail across the Minch to the Long Is., where it was thought to be easier to find a boat for France, or even Norway.

Charles agreed, and Donald found a boat and crew to take the Prince and his small party to Stornoway. But a storm was brewing, and Donald advised the Prince not to set sail. The Prince insisted – and spent the 70-mile crossing being violently seasick. The boat could not make Stornoway in the storm, and at daybreak on April 27 eventually reached safety at Rossinish on Benbecula.

Determined to head for Stornoway again, the only town of any size in the Hebrides and a regular port of call for shipping, the



■ The Prince's travels mapped by John Finlayson refer to Charles as 'the Pr-' – Prince or Pretender?

► Prince set sail again on the 29th, reaching Scalpay the next day.

Posing as shipwrecked Orcadian merchants, the Prince sent Donald MacLeod to Stornoway to hire a vessel to take him to France. The Prince remained on Scalpay, until word reached him that Donald had hired a boat. Heading for the town, Charles and his party became lost and had only reached Arnish, two miles from Stornoway, by daybreak.

Word of who the hirer of the boat was had obviously leaked in the town, and Stornoway was up in arms against him. The Prince was sent word that he would be refused entry to the town, and no boat could be found for him.

There was now no option but to return to Scalpay. On the return journey, it became clear the area was now swarming with British warships, scouring the islands for the Prince.

Missing a French ship carrying the Duke of Perth, Elcho and other Jacobites to safety in France on May 7, Charles sailed south from Scalpay on May 10. From then on, the Prince moved from one narrow escape to another. Charles evaded capture, but the government was aware he was in the Outer Hebrides and had stepped up its patrols.

By May 14, the Prince was settled

at Corrodale in South Uist, where he sheltered for the next three weeks.

The government now had nine warships in the area and this decided Charles the time had come to move to somewhere safer than Corrodale.

Finding refuge at Loch Boisdale for a few days, but with government troops closing in under the command of Captain Carolina Scott, who had made a reputation for himself by his cruelties in the Highlands, Charles was forced to move again.

Leaving his companions behind, and taking just two men, the little party headed north, aiming to break through the government cordon to find Jacobite sympathisers who would help the escape.

One such sympathiser was Hugh MacDonald of Armadale, and commander of the government militia in South Uist. He had already suggested to the Prince that he could get him to Skye.

Understandably, given his position, Charles initially paid little heed to it. But all now seemed lost. He had little option but to trust Armadale and his plan.

On the night of the full moon on June 21, Charles and his companions crossed South Uist and were taken to a hut at Ormaclett, arriving at midnight. Three miles from

Ormaclett lay Milton, the home of Flora MacDonald, step daughter of MacDonald of Armadale. She was waiting for the Prince in the hut, ready to play her part in his escape.

Initially taken aback, at first Flora refused to help Charles cross to Skye dressed as a woman, but then the Prince's famous charm was brought into play.

She would have to obtain suitable passports for the trip, one for Charles, naming him as 'Betty Burke', an Irish maidservant. These she got from MacDonald of Armadale. Flora then went to Lady Clanranald, on Benbecula, where 'Betty's' costume was prepared.

While Flora made these arrangements, Charles spent an anxious week in the heather, including a day in the open air, in pouring rain, sheltered only by a rock from government militiamen.

Finally, he met up with both Flora and Lady Clanranald on June 27. At supper the party had to flee when news was brought of the approach of government troops, and it was not until the evening of June 28 that Flora and her 'maid' could set sail across the Minch.

A gale blew up with heavy rain, and the party had a rough crossing to Skye. Off Vaternish Point they

were fired at by some of the MacLeod companies, and the party pushed on to land at Kilbride on Tottenish, hoping to find shelter at Lady MacDonald's house at Munkstadt.

But one of the MacLeod officers was in the house and, despite being a convinced Jacobite, she did not want to put her family at risk in these circumstances.

MacDonald of Kingsburgh offered to lodge Charles for the night before they moved him to Portree and then to Raasay. After a simple supper of eggs, collops of meat, bread and butter and brandy, Charles went to bed, and slept late.

In the afternoon of June 30, the Prince, after changing out of his women's clothes, and into Highland costume, walked the 12 miles from Kingsburgh to Portree, where he met up with Flora again.

At the inn in Portree plans for the next stage of his journey were made, and it was here, after 11 days, that the Prince and Flora parted, never to meet again. Taking his leave, he kissed her hand and said "For all that has happened I hope, madam, we shall meet in St James's yet."

Flora's part in the Prince's escape was now over, yet the three full days she spent with him have been blown out of all proportion by those

seeking romance. It is clear Flora was resourceful and brave, and that without her Charles could not have got off the Long Island to Skye, but there is no evidence to show any romantic involvement with the Prince. She treated him as a loyal Jacobite would her king and deserves to be remembered for that.

From Portree Charles headed to Raasay, but thought that the island was too small to conceal him safely, and returned to Skye. On July 4, he arrived at the house of John MacKinnon, and met the old chiel of MacKinnon, who organised a boat to take the Prince to the mainland. He landed at Mallag on July 5, and began the Prince's final two months in Scotland.

News that the Prince had left Skye soon reached Cumberland. Before he set off for London, Cumberland made a last intensive effort to capture the Prince, sending some 1,500 men to the coast.

Garrisons and sentry posts formed a cordon through which Charles had to break if he was to reach the interior, and Cumberland was confident his 'maid' would soon be in his hands. But Charles did break through, though sometimes so close to the redcoat guards that he could hear



■ A pro-Jacobite engraving by W. Ebersley compares the Prince and Flora with Cumberland and a city tart, a greyhound with an elephant.

their conversation
the hands of the
Glenmoriston
while

After Culloch
oath to continue to
dunk they swam
in Inverness Museum
provided the Prince with
until he was in the
Cluny MacPherson
'cage', as it was called
Ben Alder. The
by September 5, and
for the next eight days
news from the city

At last the news arrived
French ships were
Ullamh

Louis XV, shamed by
support, had managed to
locate the Prince. He
combed the island
Highlands, sometimes
the Royal Navy. Even
Prince was lifted to safety.
French had already
Jacobite refugees

Now it was the Prince
embarked on the
September 20, taking
Loche and John Ross

Charles fully expected
to Scotland, but in the
did. He had been luck
the heather – in having the right
companions to guide him,
loyalty of those who sheltered him
even a reward of £30,000 (many
millions in today's terms) failed
deliver him up to the government

Many suffered as a direct result of
helping Charles escape, but none
ever regretted doing so

BROTHERLY OPPOSITES: THE WARRIOR AND CARDINAL

At the far end of the Piazza dei Santi Apostoli, in the Quirinal area of Rome, stands an ochre-coloured apartment block. Above an imposing side entrance is a stone engraved with 'Balestra'. This is the Palazzo Muli Papazzurri Balestra, better known to Jacobite historians as the Palazzo Muli, home of the Jacobite court in exile in Rome.

It was here, on March 6, 1725, that the Polish wife of the de jure James VIII and III, Clementina Sobieska, bore him a second son. Baptised by the Pope and named Henry Benedict Thomas Edward Clement Francis Xavier, he was created Duke of York – and the future of the Stuart dynasty now seemed safe.

A pretty child, described by visitors to the small court as 'merry', he outshone his elder brother Charles in intelligence, particularly in languages, and loved all things musical. He was clearly his father's favourite son.

But his original sunny disposition soon changed. His mother, Clementina's influence turned him from a happy child to one with a more morose or contemplative disposition. Her religious mania was clearly affecting her youngest and perhaps more impressionable son.

Increasingly religion came to play a larger and larger role in his life, particularly after his parents had turned down an offer of the Polish throne for him.

It was reported that by the time he was 17, on Sundays and religious



■ Cardinal Henry Stuart, Charles's deeply-religious brother.

festivals, he would hear as many as three or four masses and would spend over an hour at his rosary.

In 1742 it had already been suggested that he be made a cardinal, but this idea was rejected and his religious fervour did not prevent him wanting to join his brother's campaign.

He met up with Charles again in October, 1746, but personality clashes between the two brothers led to Henry leaving France secretly in April, 1747, to return to his father in Rome.

James now suggested, probably at the instigation of his close friend, Pope Benedict XIV, that Henry become a Cardinal. The idea appealed to Henry and on July 3, 1747, he took up the offer. Charles

was furious with this news. By agreeing to the Cardinal's hat it signalled that, for them at least, the cause was lost and handed the Hanoverian regime a massive propaganda coup.

But Henry was happy with his new life, studying hard, and becoming a favourite of the Pope. Preferment and honours increasingly came his way, including the bishopric of Frascati. He became an important part of the papal administration – Chamberlain of the papal court, Vice-Chancellor of the Holy Roman Church, and was by the time of his death, Dean of the Sacred College (the senior cardinal).

He was certainly the wealthiest member of the Stuart family, even drawing revenues from several benefices in Mexico. He was popular and generous in both Rome and Frascati, establishing a seminary, rebuilding and renovating churches, giving generously to the poor and maintaining from his revenues anyone who had worked for the Stuarts.

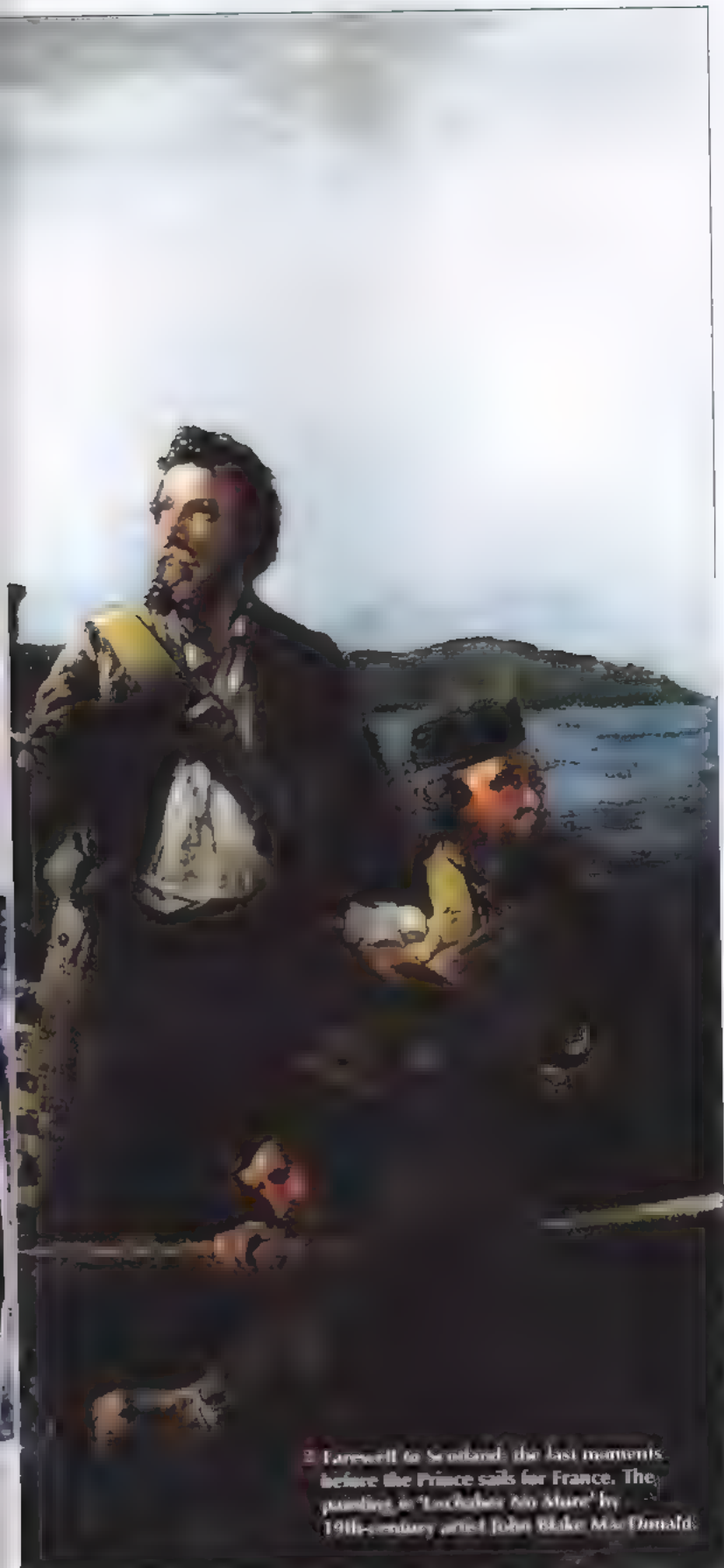
When Charles died in 1788, he immediately took the royal title of Henry IX. But everyone recognised this was an empty title. There could be no royal succession from a Cardinal. His life changed out of all recognition when Napoleon's armies invaded Italy. His revenues were confiscated, and he became almost penniless. In his distress, George III gave him a pension.

He eventually returned to his bishopric of Frascati, where he died on July 13, 1807 – the last Stuart 'king'.

Prince of light and



darkness



2 Farewell to Scotland: the last moments before the Prince sails for France. The painting is 'Lochaber No More' by 19th-century artist John Blake MacDonald.

There you go, you cowardly Italian, was Lord Elcho's taunt as Prince Charles was led off Culloden battlefield, minutes after screaming "They won't take me alive!" by Scottish and Irish Jacobite officers. Elcho was one of the ablest cavalry commanders among the Jacobite forces, leader of the crack Lifeguards squadron.

Four months later, Lord Balmerino, officer commanding the 2nd troop in the same squadron, stood on the scaffold in London to give a different verdict. Prince Charles, said he, was a man of 'incomparable sweetness, affability... compassion, justice, temperance... patience... courage'.

David Morgan, another executed English Jacobite, described Charles as having a character which "exceeds anything I could have imagined or conceived. An attempt to describe him would seem gross flattery".

Whom should we believe?

Nor are the Prince's personal qualities the only area of controversy. Even more significant to our understanding of the '45 is the assessment of his military skill. Was he a gifted commander, a tactician, and a warrior, or was his following doomed to disaster?

Chevalier de Johnstone famously remarked that if the Prince had been asleep during the campaign, and had left everything to Lord George Murray, he would have won with the crowns of Great Britain on his head.

This quotation has been used repeatedly by historians. Nearly all of those who use it fail to point out that Johnstone was Lord Murray's aide-de-camp. His evidence is suspect.

At the heart of the controversy over Charles's military ability lies the personality clash between the Prince and his dour, stubborn and proud commander, Lord George Murray, a general of high ability but conventional expectation.

The daring lightning strike through Scotland in late summer, 1745, was the Prince's responsibility, as was the advance into England. For this he has been much criticized.

But in reality, the 'Fortress Scotland' policy supported by some senior Jacobites was completely impractical given the blockading power of the Royal Navy and the financial strength of the British state.

The tempo of advance was everything. Charles saw this, as many of his commanders did not. His rage at the retreat from Derby

He dedicated his life to winning a crown and he almost succeeded. But the rest was anticlimax. He did not handle it well

was born out of his frustration at the triumph of military logic over his hitherto invincible strategy.

Similarly, when a withdrawal from the Lowlands was engineered after the Battle of Falkirk by commanders who appear to have exaggerated the real rate of desertion from the army, Charles was once again all fury and anguish.

On the battlefield, Lord George and others were better tacticians. But Charles Edward was arguably a fine strategist, who understood the military momentum necessary to a high-risk enterprise.

Nonetheless, it must be admitted that his command of the army was emotional and personal, and lacked the steadiness required to maintain morale in adversity.

When the march south he walked at the head of his army, but at the retreat he withdrew to the rear.



2 Loyal daughter: Charlotte took care of the Prince as his health began to deteriorate.

► and the advice of his Irish staff. He tried to enthuse the troops, and at critical moments suffered as his grandfather did in 1688: what appeared to have been a psychosomatic illness. He was, in short, an inadequate military leader when faced with adverse circumstances, the same circumstances which brought out the best in Lord George.

Yet those who deny Charles any military ability have always had difficulty explaining the glamour, appeal, persuasiveness and above all success of the Prince in mounting what one British historian has called the 18th century's most major threat to the existence of the British state.

The retreat from Derby would not be one of history's great 'what if' questions if Charles was the worthless charmer some claim.

Undoubtedly, the Prince's capriciousness and manic-depressive qualities are partly responsible for the strong division of opinion concerning him found both in his own time and since.

Yet the structures of the Rising also play their part.

Some Jacobites from the beginning (wrongly) thought Lord George a traitor, and the deep seated personality clashes which played round Charles reflect these divisions.

The Prince's persistent promises of French help, which he was engineering the Rising to secure, were certainly duplicitous. But the French did send official help early on, and made significant plans for a major invasion which might well have sailed had Charles advanced from Derby.

Circumstances were therefore unkind, as they were likely to be, in the context of the high military stakes for which he played.

Must not be overlooked, either, the wider enterprise of such a war as the 45 goes wrong, it is inevitable to seek scapegoats.

Whoever is naturally the most likely scapegoat. But the reasons for the failure of the 45 were many, and it is dangerous to rely on accounts which place blame mainly on the Prince or on Lord George. The signs of recent history, O'Sullivan's reputation as a competent field officer.

Yet if one examines the views held at the time, it is clear that many among the Jacobites distrusted Lord George Murray.

Some authorities argue that clashes with father-figures such as

Clementina Walkinshaw: "There is not a woman in the world that would have suffered so long", she wrote.



On his return to the Continent his fame as the nearly man was at its height. It only served to emphasise that he had failed

Murray and the Earl Marischal were central to Charles Edward's character and experience.

In short, Charles Edward's character in the Jacobite rising cannot only be judged in their own terms. They must always be understood in terms of his relationship to other people.

Mutual accusations of betrayal and incompetence reveal more about the disastrous aftermath of 1745 than give us any insight into what it was really like.

What was Charles like before 1745?

As a young man he was tall,

strong, a good linguist, a passable artist (if the drawing attributed to Charles as a boy in the Scottish National Portrait Gallery is really by him), a good hunter and a fine golfer.

Popular with women, he could also be cold towards them.

Secretive as well as visionary, he already had a tendency to equate his desires with actuality (a not uncommon failing among European aristocracy at the time, it must be said).

Both during the campaign and the flight through the heather afterwards, his sense of

fitness. At the same time, he began to drink heavily – a bottle of brandy a day.

It has also been suggested that 'the oscillation between euphoria and despondency' in his character, already evident from the campaign, was clearly linked to his drinking.

An already-established fondness for alcohol, noted by his father in Italy in 1744, was becoming more and more noticeable in 1745, with the stress he was under.

Even on the run, the Prince was engaged in drinking on many occasions (when he won, wrapping the defeated contestants in his plaid and saving them or their skulls).

On the Continent, his reputation as the man who had overthrown the British monarchy was at its height. It was when the French Government



■ Bonnie Prince Charlie no more: Charles at 64, but the artist makes no attempt to disguise the ravages of time and alcohol.

made peace in 1748, and he was forced to leave the country, did his sense of patriotism and victimhood in 1745, were abetted by his father's support for Louis XV's position and his instructions to his son to join the French government, which Charles viewed as a betrayal.

The contempt he openly expressed for those who surrounded him only served to burn his boats for the future as during the Rising, he showed barely concealed hostility to those he perceived as failing him.

By the beginning of the 1750s, he displayed signs of uncontrolled rage when his will was crossed. When women did this, they could experience physical violence.

In the 1760s, except when hunting, he began to be almost perpetually drunk.

In 1763, Voltaire remarked that George II had taken Canada from the French at the same time as the Stuart heir (with whose claim he sympathised) 'was aiming kicks

and blows at women'.

On James's death in 1766, the Papacy refused to recognize his claim to be Charles III, although the recognition of his status as 'Prince of Wales' was offered as a rather absurd compromise.

His diplomatic hopes now almost exhausted, he sank into a further decline.

At the same time, Charles could still be magnanimous and honourable, vetoing Jacobite assassination plans aimed at the House of Hanover.

Rumours and sources (none now original) claim that an approach was made by some representatives of the American colonists in 1775, to ask Charles to head a 'provisional government' of some kind.

Even fainter rumours suggest that the emissaries from America gave up in the face of his profound drunkenness.

Charles's marriage collapsed, he suffered a severe stroke, and died on January 30, 1788, his brother administering the Last Rites.

Posterity has on the whole been no kinder than his disgusted, disappointed and disaffected contemporaries. Many, such as Dr

William King, who were ardent Jacobites, abandoned the cause in the face of what the Prince became.

For subsequent commentators, Charles has tended either towards the status of a glamorized romantic figure with little character, ideas or intellect or been the 'rash adventurer' a young and impetuous boy, whose character has been appraised as anything from foolish to mendacious.

In either guise, the Prince is unimpressive. Dismissive accounts of his 'charm' or contemptuous ones of his 'drunkenness' do little to chart his character but rehearse its obvious surfaces.

No-one is arguing that Charles Edward Stuart was a pleasant, good or self-disciplined leader.

Yet in reality his disappointment was the counterpart of his enthusiasm – his abusive arrogance the dark side of his strategic vision.

He endured unemployment, exile and disappointment less well than his father had done, because he was a more inspirational leader.

He had come close, and he knew it. The rest of his life was an anticlimax. ●

SLIPPERY SIMON WAS A HARD TALKING ROGUE

Simon Fraser, Lord Lovat, stands out as the slipperiest of all players in the Highlands in 1745. He is a great example of the fact that it was not always easy to tell whose heart lay with Hanover and who was with the Jacobites.

By the time of the '45, Lovat had already acquired a history of vacillation during periods of Jacobite activity.

His great obsession was to dabble in high politics to secure the best position for himself.

Key agents for Lovat in this respect were the Grant family.

Lovat became frustrated with the Grants over time, however, as their failure to secure important offices restricted their usefulness to him.

Lovat's political two-facedness was made more pronounced by his close relationship with a pillar of Hanoverianism in the Highlands – the family of Forbes of Culloden, with whom Lovat maintained a love-hate

No one knew where Simon, Lord Lovat's loyalties really lay – perhaps not even he

relationship in the decades leading up to the '45.

In 1722, Lovat and his political allies engaged the Forbes brothers, Duncan and John, in bitterly contested parliamentary elections. By 1730, relations had improved slightly, with Duncan Forbes helping Lovat beat-off a contest to his family's hereditary rights.

When the mood struck him, Lovat could be a pretty despicable character. His enmity towards the Forbes having resurfaced by 1734, he greeted the news that John Forbes had developed a fatal illness with unbridled glee.

He added, for good measure: "I piss

upon MacLeod", to stress his hostility to the Skye chief.

Lovat's insensitivity is further highlighted by an exchange between himself and Sir James, Chief of Grant.

On a visit to Beaufort, the two men joked that Lovat might choose to have his way with Grant's daughter-in-law – and, for good measure, her sisters.

But Lovat did have a more refined side to his personality, too. Like many in the 18th-century Gaelic elite, he shared European tastes in cultural sophistication – first developing his literary tastes at King's College Aberdeen.

Fed up with Hanover, he supported the Prince during the '45.

When the two met on the eve of Culloden, Lovat told the Prince to remember that his royal ancestor, the Bruce, eventually won Scotland after eleven defeats.

In defeat, Lovat remained vocally courageous and defiant, most notably at his execution in London in April 1747.

Dirty work by a spy

Even in the '45 undercover agents were at work. Glengarry was one of them - and a Cameron hanged because of his 'treachery'

Archibald Cameron, brother of Cameron of Lochiel, was the last Jacobite to be executed on British soil. His death, in June, 1753, heralded the final demise of the Jacobite cause as a serious threat to Hanoverian rule in Britain.

Cameron met his execution by the grisly procedure of hanging, drawing and quartering - with heroic fortitude, playing the role of Jacobite martyr with notable success.

When the clergyman who was to attend his death came forward at the place of execution Tyburn in London - Cameron greeted him with the words "So are you come? This is a glorious day to me. 'Tis my new birthday. There are more witnesses at this birth than were at my first."

Executions in the 18th century were the keystone in a system of punishment which relied on exemplary violence to maintain order and respect for the law. They were also carefully-staged pieces of theatre.

The condemned were taken through the streets of the capital to the place of execution in an open cart. They were also expected to repent their crimes before death, reinforcing the simple moral message of their punishment. This repentance was expressed in a dying speech, which was then usually published.

The condemned often bravely meekly play the role assigned to them; nor did the crowd which was often unruly or sympathetic to the victim. Many Jacobites used their execution, and dying speeches, as occasions to advertise the principles

and nobility of the Jacobite cause.

They embraced martyrdom, and in so doing ensured their deaths had a political significance that went beyond their unrealized hopes to see their king restored to the thrones of Britain and Ireland.

The dying speeches of Jacobites executed after the '45 were collected together and printed in several pamphlets. They became, in short, an excellent source of Jacobite propaganda. They may also have been a source of succour to those whose disaffection during the rebellion had never got beyond private hopes for Jacobite success.

Cameron was denied pen and ink when in Newgate gaol, in an attempt to prevent him advertising his cause and martyrdom. Through his wife, however, he was able to smuggle out his dying speech, and a letter to his son, on small scraps of paper.

The speech and letter were subsequently published in a short pamphlet, much to the irritation of ministers in London. In it, Cameron

protested his innocence, alleging also that he had only joined the '45 out of 'compulsion'. He also re-asserted the principles - those of an Episcopalian Jacobite - which had led to his life-long support for the Stuarts. Some contemporaries were shocked, or at least affected to be so, at the severity of his punishment.

Cameron was executed under an act of attainder passed in the aftermath of the rebellion. (This act excepted named individuals from an act of pardon passed in 1747.)

A letter published in the *Scots Magazine* argued that such punishment was unjustified because of the length of time which had elapsed since the crime was committed. Another letter published in a London newspaper argued that Cameron merited mercy for reasons of prudence and humanity.

The threat from the Highlands was effectively extinguished, and such further punitive measures would only be counterproductive.

As the author of the letter

monarch of the forests, were his throne attacked, would face the tiger while it roared against him, but would not rake out the earth long after to crush the toothless worm that crawled after the standard."

What contemporaries did not know, and what Cameron was not about to tell them, was that his punishment reflected not simply his role in the '45 - which has been that of a committed Jacobite - but the fact that he was up to his neck in a further attempt to restore the Stuarts in the early 1750s.

Nor could ministers in 1753 - contrary to what contemporaries were prepared to assert - that the threat from the Highlands was still significant.

After the rebellion, Cameron had fled from Scotland with his family to Loch nan Uamh. In 1750, he became a member of the Scots regiments, and was a Jacobite, on the one hand, and a traitor, on the other.

He returned to the



■ Farewell: a French 1750s history showing the Prince leaving Loch nan Uamh. With him was the doomed Archibald Cameron, who fatefully returned in 1753 with a royal kidnapping on his mind.



Scotland was fashioned on the anvil of Stirling

Since a howling wolf saved the town from the Vikings, Stirling has been at the heart of the nation's story - but if you haven't visited its Smith Museum, you just don't know Stirling

The town of Stirling is at the cross-roads of Scotland's geography and history. The Stirling Story is Scotland's story in microcosm, and the best place to experience it is at the Smith Art Gallery and Museum in the town's Dumbarton Road.

From 24 June, 2000, visitors can experience the Stirling story at first hand.

Prehistoric peoples built their forts on the high hills and volcanic outcrops of the Forth Valley, above the peat and marshlands.

It has held a key position in Scotland's affairs for a thousand years. In the Middle Ages, people believed that Scotland was a peninsula, surrounded by water on three sides.

The crossing point was at the Bridge of Stirling. The Bridge, with its causeway through the marshes (Causewayhead Road is still a major road today) was strategically guarded by the Castle of Stirling.

The seal of the burgh dates from 1296. One side depicts the Bridge and the other a Crucifix, with two

opposing armies. The other side shows Stirling Castle. The Latin inscription is summarised thus:

The Britons stand by force of arms.

The Scots are by this Cross preserved from harm.

The Castle and Bridge of Stirling town, are in the compass of this seal set down.

It was often said that 'to take Stirling, is to hold Scotland', and six major battles which changed the course of Scottish history were fought in or near Stirling.

The most important of these were perhaps Wallace's victory over the English at Stirling Bridge on 11 September, 1297, which stopped Scotland from being a subject nation, and Bruce's victory at Bannockburn on 24 June, 1314, which secured Scotland's independence.

Both of these battles have been commemorated regularly.

Stirling is a town where traditions are valued. It is one of the last places in Scotland where the New Year is celebrated on Auld Time. The first Monday after the New Year is the first Monday after the New Year.

This practice is still observed in the town of Stirling.

in protest took back the 'eleven lost days'.

The beast of Stirling is the Wolf. It is said that a wolf howled, alerting the townspeople to Viking raiders, thus saving the town from invasion and destruction.

Stirling was granted Royal Burgh status in 1124 and became an important market town and port, with an extensive European and Baltic trade. In 1457, Stirling was made responsible for regulating Scottish liquid measures, and the original Stirling Jug is in the Smith collections.

The royal courts of James IV and V at Stirling were among the most important in Renaissance Europe. James IV's experiment, but after James VI moved his court to London in 1603, the town of Stirling.

The garrison in the Castle had no permanent architecture. When the castle was captured, the famous Stirling Heads were used as a trophy. Those that were kept,



The earliest known illustration of the Stirling Bridge dating back to 1704. It was painted on a panel for the Tolbooth by Altea artist John Berthel.



■ Martyr's ring... worn by the Reverend James Guthrie who was hanged in 1661 for his religious beliefs. The Smith also has his portrait and chair.

were stripped and turned into arable land. The new and latest methods of agriculture were exhibited in the Drummond Agricultural Museum in Stirling throughout the 19th century.

Peter Drummond also set up the Stirling Tract Enterprise, a Gospel printing and distribution unit which issued temperance and religious tracts world wide between 1848 and 1981.

Other prominent reformers associated with Stirling include Robert Bontine Cunningham-Graham MP (1852-1936), a founder member both of the Scottish Labour Party of 1888, and the National Party of Scotland in 1928. Another of the clan, Allan Barnes Graham, made his estate of Carbeth available as a camp and holiday place for the working classes of Glasgow.

A contemporary, Robert Maclaurin, set up the Stirling Homesteads, a unique experiment in housing for the working classes.

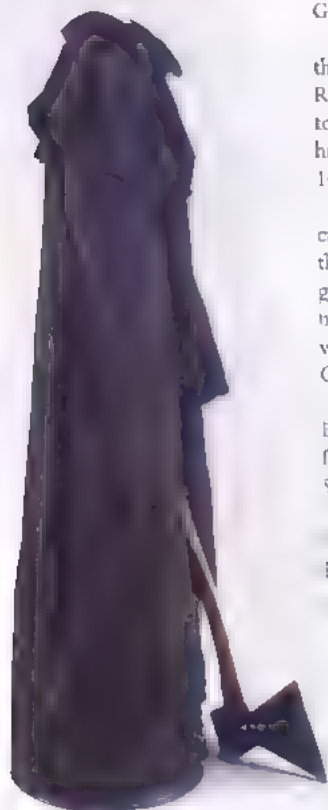
Stirling's Story is full of surprises: the first successful flights in Scotland were pioneered by the Barnwell Brothers of Stirling in 1911, and two of Scotland's greatest film

makers, John Grierson (1898-1972) and his pupil Norman McLaren (1914-1987) grew up in Stirling.

The latter in the house opposite the Smith. The Smith is the storehouse for Stirling's historical treasures, from prehistoric whalebones to whalebone corsets.

If you haven't seen the Smith, you haven't seen Stirling. ●

■ To the brim: the official Stirling measure for a pint.



■ Justice 1820-style: the hangman's cloak and the blood-crusted headman's axe in the Smith at Stirling.

were later rescued by the Smith Art Gallery and Museum.

In the 17th century, Stirling was at the centre of church politics. The Reverend James Guthrie, appointed to Stirling in 1649, was executed for his religious and political beliefs in 1661.

A martyr for the Covenanting cause, his portrait and chair are in the Smith collections, while his ring, given to his niece on the scaffold, has been preserved by six generations of women who were the daughters of Church of Scotland ministers.

Guthrie inspired Stirling minister Ebenezer Erskine (1680-1745), founder of the Secession Church in Scotland.

Stirling is sometimes described as the 'brooch which clasps the Highlands and Lowlands together' and the town trade guilds often supplied the needs of the Highlanders who drove their black cattle to the lowland trysts and markets every autumn, for cloths, pistols, linens and goods.

Without sympathy for the Stuart monarchy, the Jacobite cause was strong, and without the help of the Stirlingshire Jacobites, Prince Charles Edward Stuart's Rising of 1745-6 would not have had the

success it did. An eyewitness account of the '45, published only months after Culloden, was written in rhyming verse by Dougal Graham (1724-1779), a farm labourer from the Raploch of Stirling, who followed the Jacobite army.

After Culloden, the manufacture and wearing of tartans was proscribed in the Highlands. Stirling was technically in the lowlands, and Wilsons of Bannockburn took advantage. Their tartan weaving manufactory became an enterprise which clothed the Highland regiments in all parts of the globe in the 19th and 20th centuries.

When yet another Rising, the Radical Rising of the weavers in 1820, was savagely suppressed, the supposed ringleaders, Andrew Hardie and John Baird were hanged and beheaded outside the Stirling Tolbooth. The axe and bloodstained cloak of the headman are in the Smith collections.

The town was at the centre of the agricultural revolution. The peatbogs



Suddenly a passerby stepped straight through the woman

It was the restless spirit of the demented Edinburgh shopkeeper

In Edinburgh, the majority of spiritual apparitions are associated with the Old Town. However, during the 19th century, some intriguing ghostly appearances took place in the fashionable New Town. One such haunting was in the New Town's principal thoroughfare, George Street, just over a century ago.

This enigmatic spirit was no fearsome night-time apparition, but a young lady, by all accounts tall and graceful. Witnessed by many, but particularly by those who possessed psychic powers, she was seen in broad daylight as if she were taking a leisurely stroll among the well-to-do citizens of the capital.

The first indication that all was not as it seemed was, to one witness, the clothes she wore.

Her coat had a high collar with blue velvet facing, sleeves which were full at the shoulders and a band of blue velvet drawn lightly at the waist. She had a small hat with two large plumes placed high on the side.

The significance of these details is that her attire was considerably out of date. By this stage only the

witness's curiosity had been aroused. As he approached the young woman, he was struck by her very pale yellow hair and her startlingly fair complexion. Overtaking her, a cold chill ran through his whole body. Her face was that of the dead.

The strange proceedings continued as she progressed along George Street towards its intersection with Dundas Street. No one seemed to notice her. No one gave her clothing a second glance.

But a number of passers-by shivered uncontrollably as they came close to her. As she prepared to cross the road an elderly gentleman, having finished his traverse, walked straight into and through the phantom young lady.

A few paces further on she paused, and then glided into a chemist shop. Only a few steps behind, the witness followed, entered the apothecary's and found she was not there. She had vanished. Inquiry of her whereabouts was made, and was met with the same abruptness that can still be found in many of Edinburgh's better-class shops today.

Some days passed before our

witness returned to George Street.



The day was one of those all too common in Scotland, when the rain clouds of the world gathered their loads and dropped them on the unsuspecting inhabitants.

It is not by chance that the mackintosh and the umbrella are two inventions of Caledonia's sons. Everyone's apparel on this day was the same, except for one young woman standing outside the Ladies' Tea Association Rooms.

Dressed precisely as before, from her blue-and-white plumes to her high Louis heels, she was totally dry. Despite the deluge, not a drop touched her.

Our witness, anxious to get another, closer look, quickened his pace. As he darted past her he stepped into her countenance.

The shock, the ghastly hue of her grim, white face

reeling and staggering into the street. Willing himself not to faint, his gaze caught her form as it passed a horse-drawn cab.

As she glided by, the animal reared and shied and uttered noises that ascended from pain to abject fear and terror. Once again crossing the top of Dundas Street, she reached the chemist and entered the shop.

Who was this lady? Why did she haunt one of Edinburgh's most unlikely thoroughfares? The psychological questions were asked, but no answer was forthcoming. What connection with the past?

Some 18 years before her reappearance in George Street

around the time when the spirit's attire would have been in fashion).

■ If you inexplicably feel a cold shiver run down your spine near the intersection of Edinburgh's George Street and Dundas Street – look carefully over your shoulder. It just might be the wraith of the deranged costumier, Jean Vernelt.



the chemist's shop was owned by a dressmaker named Miss Bosworth.

This lady had retired to Bournemouth and it was she who was able to provide much of the information for our tale.

In 1892, an advert appeared in one of the daily papers. It had been placed by a Miss Jean Vernelt.

Mademoiselle Vernelt, as she called herself, ran a costumier's business in George Street. The business was for sale – and at a substantial sum.

Although initially put off by the figure, Miss Bosworth, who was interested in buying the shop, examined the books and realised that the business was prosperous, improving annually and patronised by a duchess and a number of Edinburgh society dames.

The two ladies agreed terms. Within a week Miss Bosworth was

the owner. All went well until a month after the transaction.

Miss Vernelt returned to the shop. She appeared agitated and distressed. She screamed at Miss Bosworth: "It's all a mistake! I don't want to sell it. I can't do anything with my capital. Let me buy it back."

Miss Bosworth tried to explain as politely and sympathetically as she could that this would not be possible.

At that point Jane Vernelt began to behave as if she were totally mad. She shouted and screamed, seeming to have lost all her reason.

So great was the disturbance that Miss Bosworth had to summon her assistant to evict forcibly Mademoiselle Vernelt.

No lesson was to be learned, however. Every day for six weeks she returned, each time seemingly more deranged. Finally, Miss Bosworth

was obliged to take legal action.

It was at this point that she discovered that Jane Vernelt was deranged. She had been suffering from a softening of the brain for many months. It was on strong medical advice she had been told to give up the business and to place herself and her capital in the hands of trustworthy friends and relations.

However, she delayed too long. By the time she did sell up, the resultant change, the disruption and her preoccupation with the fantasy that she was penniless, all combined to accelerate the condition. Consequently, her actions became increasingly disturbed.

What was so particularly curious was that Miss Bosworth found that she, too, was one of that rare group of people who could claim to have psychic powers and could witness supernatural manifestations invisible

to so many others. So it was that some time before Miss Vernelt died, but long after she was put under permanent restraint, she too saw the apparition gliding along George Street and in and out of the shop.

The spirit of Jane Vernelt was inexorably drawn to the last place of normality the body had ever known. Indeed, the death of the young lady some weeks later seemed to cause no interruption to the frequent visits.

Although there have been no reported sightings of Jane in recent years, no one can be sure if the distracted figure is laid to rest.

Few, of course, would ever have power to see her at all.

But the next time you walk along the section of George Street between St Andrews Square and Dundas Street and you feel a shiver running down your spine – look around. It could be Jane. ●

Follow the footsteps of the fugitive Prince



Loyalty marked the trail of the biggest manhunt in Highland history, as Charles headed eastwards over the sea to Skye, explains biker historian David Ross



■ Together they fell... the monument to the clans on the moor at Culloden.

Culloden had been lost and won, Charles's escape route took him through the country to the south of Loch Ness. One of his first halts was at Invergarry Castle. The castle was later blown up by Cumberland's vengeful Hanoverians, but its gaunt ruins still stand atop the 'Raven's Rock' or, in Gaelic, 'Creag an Fhitich'.

This was also the battle cry of the MacDonells of Glengarry, showing their inherent love for their native heath. The castle stands on the western shore of Loch Oich, close to the A82, in the grounds of a hotel.

From here, moving south and west, Charles travelled through the 'Mile Dorcha' – the 'Dark Mile' – that links Loch Lochy and Loch Arkaig. The name came from the gloom of the heavy tree cover, but modern road upgrading and forestry has lessened the original effect.

The country running west from here is steeped in the legend surrounding the Prince's flight. The hills were crossed and recrossed to escape the clutches of the Redcoats. Charles was

an early 'Munroist', spending a night out on the summit of Sgurr Thuilin, above the head of Glen Finnan, where the Royal Standard of the Stuarts fluttered only months before.

But the ordinary clansmen did not see Culloden as the end of the campaign. As far as they were concerned it was the first battle they had lost. They regrouped at Ruthven Barracks, but the order to disperse destroyed their hopes.

Ruthven Barracks, built by the government to control this area, stand complete to the wallhead, a little to the east of the A9 just south of Kingussie. The barracks had been the scene of earlier actions of the '45. The mound upon which the barracks stand was the site of a Medieval castle owned by the Comyn family at the time of Bruce. They are a familiar sight to drivers commuting this main north-south route.

Tracing the routes that Charles took during his flight cannot fail to impress. Twenty and thirty-mile treks were not uncommon, astonishing feats covering some of Scotland's roughest terrain in

usually wet weather and with poor rations. Even Charles's hardy companions, bred to these hills, commented on his ability to adapt.

To escape Cumberland's wrath, Charles spent much time sailing and wandering the 'Outer Isles' but, inevitably, escape became essential.

This was where Flora MacDonald entered the story. Flora was instrumental in smuggling Charles 'Over the sea to Skye'. The journey was eastward to Skye and not, as many imagine, a journey westwards from the mainland. Landfall was made on the Trotternish peninsula at a location near Monkstadt, still shown on maps as Prince Charles's Point.

Flora MacDonald went on to have a long and eventful life, dying in 1790 but, strangely, she is buried not far from where that landfall was made. At Kilmuir on Score Bay, a large Celtic cross marks her last resting place. The original cross was erected in 1871, but fell in a storm in December, 1873. The current cross, rising to a height of 28.5 feet, was erected in 1880.

A tangible reminder of the loyalty that the people of the Highlands felt for Charles can be visited in Glen Moriston, where the Rivers Doe and Moriston meet, close to the A887. Here a cairn bears a plaque which states: "At this spot in 1746 died Roderick MacKenzie, an officer in the army of Prince Charles Edward Stuart. Of the same size and similar resemblance to his Royal Prince, when surrounded and overpowered by the troops of the Duke of Cumberland gallantly died in attempting to save his fugitive leader from further pursuit".

Apparently, when MacKenzie was cut down, he exclaimed: "You have slain your Prince!", and this threw the Hanoverian forces off the scent for a while, allowing Charles a well-needed breathing space from pursuit.

Charles eventually left Scotland on September 20, 1746, sailing from Loch nan Uamh, the Loch of the Caves.

A cairn erected in 1956 marks the spot. It stands on the shore beside the A830 Mallaig road, and a lay-by just past the cairn allows parking. ●

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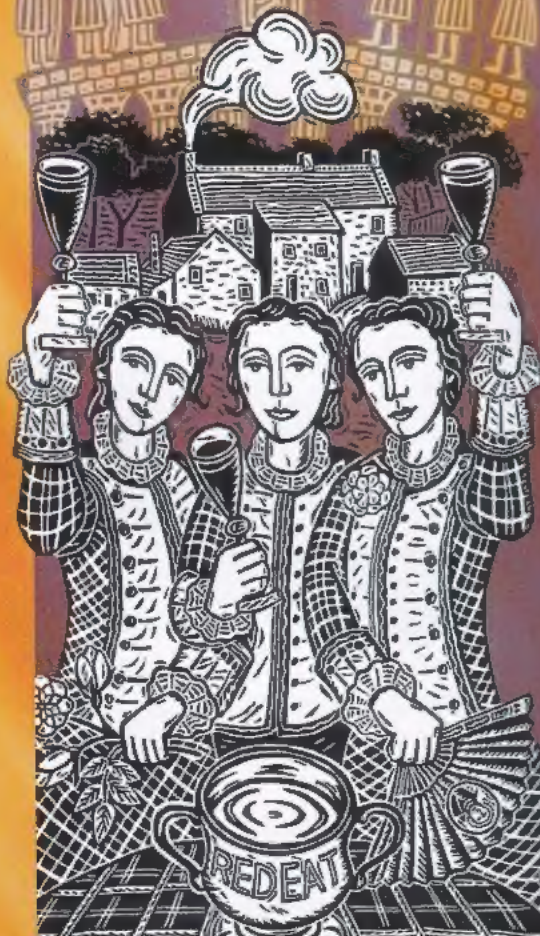
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The stirling Story



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232



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